

## Like a Wolf on the Fold: Animal Imagery in Vergil

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Whether the *Aeneid* offers its audience an essentially optimistic or pessimistic vision of the human condition is an issue that has been long debated but never resolved. It is natural to want one of the most cherished poems in our western cultural tradition to speak positively of man's possibilities, but such meaning is hard to wrest from a work so permeated with sorrow and regret. In the end each reader's own attitudes towards life may determine his sense of the epic.

Those who espouse the bleaker interpretation find the source of the poem's pessimism in the disparity between man's hopes for himself and the institutions he actually creates. Rome the civilizer turns out to be Rome the destroyer and Aeneas is its first well-intended failure.<sup>1</sup>

What ultimately thwarts the designs of the hero or of the city is not the fundamental inhumanity of their ideals nor the caprice of hostile gods. It is not even the malignancy of a twisted minority or the lapses of otherwise good men. The cause seems to lie in ordinary human nature, in several of man's most basic qualities: his mortal ignorance and his capacity for irrational passion.

The symbol for this latter aspect of the human psyche, as has been long recognized,<sup>2</sup> is *furor impius*. Jupiter's prophecy in Book 1 (257-96) gives us the ideal toward which Aeneas and Rome strive—*furor* rendered powerless and a rational human order perpetuated. But neither Jupiter nor the force of Roman institutions can change human nature, and the promise of *furor* subdued is a cruel delusion.

That message resonates throughout much of the intricately contrived symbolism and imagery of the *Aeneid* but is heard with particular clarity in allusions to animals, especially to predatory animals and the beasts they hunt, and to those creatures who possess a combination of human and

<sup>1</sup> W. R. Johnson, *Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1976) ch. 1, has a long discussion of the views put forward by scholars on both sides of this continuing debate.

<sup>2</sup> For example, see V. Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*, tr. G. Seligson (Ann Arbor 1962) 18 ff. and the discussion in B. Fenik, "Parallelism of Theme and Imagery in *Aeneid* II and IV," *AJP* 80 (1959) 7-9.

animal traits.<sup>3</sup> Critics have treated many of these images in depth before, either individually or in connection with other perceived patterns of meaning. In this paper I shall try to show that they are used in concert to express a perception of man as essentially and irremediably flawed and to suggest that from his defective nature come his suffering and failure.

Vergil's description of the goddess Circe at the beginning of Book 7 (10-24) contains many of the important elements in the system of images I shall attempt to trace. Its central position within the poem serves to give focus and coherence to the pattern which has been developing throughout the earlier books.<sup>4</sup>

Since it is often helpful in any examination of the *Aeneid* to compare an incident to its analogue in Homer, I shall turn to the Circe-episode in Book 10 of the *Odyssey*. The differences between the two treatments throw into relief the disparate purposes of each author.<sup>5</sup>

In the two works the kinds of animals each Circe keeps are largely the same. There is a mixed selection of predators: wolves, lions and, in Vergil, bears. Significantly there are also swine, a species which is the victim of predation. In other words the two divinities surround themselves with both hunters and hunted. Each goddess' animals, however, behave very differently.

The Homeric goddess' pets are tame. Her pigs are domestic swine who live in sties and her wolves and lions are dog-like, fawning on visitors and wagging their tails (*Od.* 10. 214-19).<sup>6</sup> The description of the Latin goddess' animal entourage strikes a stark contrast to this picture of friendly domestication. Her creatures are kept in chains (7. 16) and pens (17). They make the night resound with howls and other bestial complaints against their captivity (15-16, 18). Instead of docile swine this Circe has *saetigeri sues*, whose behavior is linked with that of bears for both share the same verb: *saevire* (17-18).<sup>7</sup> Homer's pigs do not rage, but weep (*Od.* 10. 241), yet in Vergil these animals, who are frequent victims of predation, sound as fierce and dangerous as their potential predators. Any creature pursuing such

<sup>3</sup> I do not include snakes since they have associations with other important and complicated themes, such as rebirth and deception, which are not part of my discussion. See B. Knox, "The Serpent and the Flame: The Imagery of the Second Book of the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 71 (1950) 379-400 and W. R. Nethercut, "The Imagery of the *Aeneid*," *CJ* 67 (1971-72) 123-43.

<sup>4</sup> M. Putnam, "*Aeneid* VII and the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 91 (1970) 408-30, has seen that the Circe-episode has great symbolic importance and that the goddess stands for man's violence. I owe a debt to the many suggestions he makes in his article.

<sup>5</sup> For more general and comprehensive comparisons of the Homeric and Vergilian scenes see G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen 1964) 136-38 and C. Segal, "Circean Temptations," *TAPA* 99 (1968) 419-42.

<sup>6</sup> In fact they are much friendlier than most watchdogs. Compare the herd dogs in *Od.* 14. 29-31.

<sup>7</sup> J. Conington, *P. Vergilii Maronis Opera* III (London 1871) *ad loc.*, holds that wild boars are meant, but other uses of *saetigeri* and *sues* in the *Aeneid* suggest domestic pigs since they are sacrificial animals (11. 198, 12. 170).

a beast might well experience a sudden reversal of roles. The Italian animals are equally savage because they are all victims of the goddess whether they be predator or prey.

The difference in the dispositions of these animals serves to emphasize what is unnatural and sinister in each episode. The Greek animals are strange in two respects: first because they were once men,<sup>8</sup> and second because they act contrary to the expectations of Odysseus' crew. The men look upon these creatures as αἰνὰ πέλωρα (*Od.* 10. 219) because they are dangerous and, paradoxically, because they are not.<sup>9</sup>

Vergil's transformed animals, on the other hand, are not unnatural *qua* animals. One might reasonably expect confined beasts to be vocal and restive. There may be some suggestion that these creatures are aware of their changed state in the words *gemitus* (7. 15), *recusantem* (16) and *ululare* (18), but since these terms are not inappropriately used of animals,<sup>10</sup> their state of awareness is not made explicit. Homer's weeping pigs, on the other hand, are aware (*Od.* 10. 239–41). What is strange and terrible in the Vergilian scene is not so much the behavior of the animals, as it is in Homer, but primarily the fact that they once were men. To undergo such a fate, to become animal-like when one is human, is to suffer *talia monstra* (7. 21).

There is not only a difference in animal behavior in the two scenes, but also a difference in the process of metamorphosis. The Greek victims assume porcine forms without much elaboration of the part of the poet:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δῶκέν τε καὶ ἔκπιον, αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα  
 ῥάβδῳ πεπληγυῖα κατὰ συφεοῖσιν ἐέργνυ·  
 οἱ δὲ συῶν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνήν τε τρίχας τε  
 καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὥς τὸ πάρος περ.  
 (*Od.* 10. 237–40)

The process is not described, only the result. What connection Circe's potion has with the mechanics of change, which seems to come at the touch of her wand, is not explained.

<sup>8</sup> Conington *ad loc.*, maintains that the Homeric wolves and lions are simply tamed beasts, not transformed men. W. B. Stanford, *The Odyssey of Homer I* (London 1959), in his notes to *Od.* 10. 212 convincingly argues that they are changed humans.

<sup>9</sup> Segal (above, note 5) 433 notes this paradox.

<sup>10</sup> *Ululare* in its various forms is most frequently used of mourning humans, but it is used of dogs when Aeneas and the Sybil approach the entrance to the Underworld (6. 257). *Gemitus* and *gemere* are primarily sounds of human grief and pain except in 12. 722 where *gemitus* is used of fighting bulls and in 7. 501 where *gemere* is the sound made by a wounded stag. *Recuso* is used exclusively of humans (or parts of humans, see 12. 747 about Aeneas' knees). Conington *ad loc.* points out that *gemitus* and *gemere* are used elsewhere of animals. Segal (above, note 5) 433 feels that these animals "have lost all traces of humanity and are simply dangerous wild beasts."

Vergil, unlike Homer, does not depict a specific change in a vague manner, but rather describes the goddess' *modus operandi* in a more graphic and suggestive image:

quos hominum ex facie dea saeva potentibus herbis  
induerat Circe in vultus ac terga ferarum. (7. 19-20)

What exactly *terga* means in this context is not clear. It could mean that the goddess clothed men in the frames or even the backs of beasts, or, what is more likely, that she dressed them in the hides of beasts.<sup>11</sup> The verb *induo* is often used in the *Aeneid* for donning armor and putting on disguises.<sup>12</sup> In the Greek passage there is the notion of human appearance giving way to animal shape, but in the Latin there is the suggestion that the goddess somehow dresses up men or disguises them in animal skins.

Homer's depiction of Odysseus' followers is designed to contrast the crew's emotional state with Odysseus'. Circe's potion causes the crew to forget their native land (*Od.* 10. 235-36) and thus their essential attachment to the human world, but Odysseus, despite a temporary lapse, cannot forget, for his mind is ἀκήλητος (*Od.* 10. 329). He can never be transformed.<sup>13</sup> The susceptibility of the crew is the obverse of the goddess' power; together they effect metamorphosis. Vergil, by comparison, is more concerned with the symbolic value of the actual physical activity described. Aeneas and his followers are not only being warned of what may happen to them metaphorically, but the poet is also calling attention to the donning of animal insignia as a motif and to what it comes to signify: dressing in skins ultimately reveals the wearer as beast himself.

Besides illuminating aspects of Vergil's Circe by contrast, Homer's deity also links the Roman poet's goddess indirectly to the figure of Dido, because the queen is for Aeneas what Circe and Calypso are for Odysseus: potent female distractions from the hero's goal. We cannot help but notice that when the hero avoids the baleful magic of the Italian Circe in Book 7, he does so only after succumbing to Dido's enchantments.

Earlier, in Book 3, the poet makes another indirect connection between the goddess and Dido when Circe is called Aeaeon Circe (3. 386). The

<sup>11</sup> *Tergum* frequently means an animal's skin in the *Aeneid* (1. 368, 5. 351, 7. 94, 8. 460) or that which is made from skin, such as shields (10. 718) or boxing gloves (5. 403). Editors vary in their interpretation: see C. J. Fordyce, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri VII-VIII* (Oxford 1977) *ad loc.* See also T. E. Page, *The Aeneid of Vergil II* (London 1951) *ad loc.*

<sup>12</sup> *Induo* is most frequently used of armor and in this context Vergil employs it for dressing in the spoils of the enemy (2. 275, 393, 10. 775, 12. 947). It also describes a warrior dressed in a lion's skin (8. 668) and is twice used of a god donning mortal disguise (1. 684, 7. 417). In the first reference Venus instructs Cupid: *notos pueri puer induit vultus*.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of these points see W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero* (Oxford 1961) 45-50, W. S. Anderson, "Calypso and Elysium," *CJ* 54 (1958) 2-11 and C. H. Taylor, "The Obstacles to Odysseus' Return," *Yale Review* (1961) 569-80. These critics also view Odysseus' backsliding under Circe's spell as a temporary and minor aberration from his customary responses.

adjective alludes not only to her present Italian location but to her Homeric association with Colchis and Medea, as Aeetes' sister (*Od.* 10. 135 ff.). Dido throughout Book 4 evokes Medea, especially in the preparation of her funeral pyre (4. 465, 474, 484-85).<sup>14</sup>

These references connect the goddess with erotic figures and invest the sinister demon in Book 7 with a subliminal sexuality.<sup>15</sup> Later the covert eroticism becomes overt when we learn that she, *capta cupidine* (7. 189-91), turned the worthy Picus into a woodpecker.<sup>16</sup> Erotic passion, it seems, can motivate bestial transformations.<sup>17</sup>

Circe has more to do with animals than simply creating them out of men. Latinus gives Aeneas a gift of horses (7. 208 f.) descended from stock bred by the goddess. The genealogy of this present suggests that Circe's association with beasts is very diffuse. It includes winged creatures as well as mammals, wild and tame. That war horses are included is significant: it connects Circe and all she means to that realm of human activity.<sup>18</sup>

For the last observation about the episode with Circe we must go back to the description of the goddess' dwelling place. The opening lines describe its setting as *inaccessos lucos* (7. 11). Like her Homeric counterpart she practices her singular craft in the woods, the natural haunt of wild animals, at least to the popular imagination.<sup>19</sup> Wooded places inhabited by animals are also part of the network of allusions, symbols and images that this paper will trace.

Before turning to the text in an attempt to demonstrate how all these elements work, it would be useful to review what has emerged so far in this brief comparison with Homer.

Vergil makes Circe and her actions symbols of the forces that reduce men to brute behavior. We note that the goddess turns humans into animals of all kinds, but particularly into common predatory beasts and their prey. The transformed victims exist in a state of rage and grief, whether they be predator or prey, since they are alike in their frustrated anger and sorrow.

<sup>14</sup> See Conington *ad loc.* and R. D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Vergil* I (London 1972) *ad loc.* for references to Apollonius and to other commentaries. See also C. Collard, "Medea and Dido," *Prometheus* 1 (1975) 131-51.

<sup>15</sup> This is in addition to that aura of sexuality which is natural to her as a lover of Odysseus and in general as a projection of man's libido. Servius calls her "*clarissima meretrix*."

<sup>16</sup> He may not have been a woodpecker; see T. MacKay, "Three Poets Observe Picus," *AJP* 96 (1975) 272-75. The phrase *capta cupidine* is puzzling in conjunction with *coniunx*; see Conington *ad loc.* and Segal (above, note 5) 435.

<sup>17</sup> Putnam (above, note 4) 414 has an interesting observation on Picus and his variegated plumage.

<sup>18</sup> Putnam (above, note 4) 415. He notes that war horses are an appropriately ominous gift. Horses symbolize war in the *Aeneid* as he points out here and in his book, *The Poetry of the Aeneid: Four Studies in Imaginative Unity and Design* (Cambridge, MA 1965) 107.

<sup>19</sup> For example see Horace, *Odes* 1. 22. 9 ff. In fact, however, predators of grazing and browsing animals live not in the deep woods, but where their prey lives, on the periphery of wooded areas.

What is sinister and frightening about them is less their frantic behavior than the fact that they were once humans. The combination of man and beast is monstrous, and the goddess creates these *monstra* by disguising them or dressing them up as beasts. The goddess, who resembles her creations by living in the woods,<sup>20</sup> works her art on men who enter the woods and who become involved with her. We learn later that such disastrous commerce may include erotic involvement.

Books 1-4 show a gradual accretion of the elements which the Circe passage brings into relation with each other. Jupiter's speech to Venus in Book 1, the very words that promise a golden future for Rome, contains two images:

inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus  
Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet  
moenia . . . (275-77)

. . . dirae ferro et compagibus artis  
claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus  
saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis  
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento. (293-96)

Although the *laetus* Romulus is engaged in peaceful, constructive activity, he is nonetheless clothed in a wolf's skin. The meaning of this is not yet apparent, but there are hints: the Roman hero is the foster child of a wolf, one of the most deadly and effective of predators;<sup>21</sup> the wolf is the wolf of Mars and her adopted whelp is building *mavortia moenia*.

Furor is the first of a series of monsters in the *Aeneid*. He is shut up and chained like Circe's beasts. *Fremo* is a word Vergil frequently uses of loud, excited animal sounds<sup>22</sup> and once of another monster, the Chimera on Turnus' crest (7. 787). The verb in conjunction with the expression *ore cruento* is used twice of lions (9. 341, 12. 8). Although he is like an animal, *vinctus post tergum nodis* suggests he has a human shape with hands.<sup>23</sup> This hybrid monster is a visualization of the social violence of war and even at the very beginnings of the city his eventual materialization seems implied in Vergil's description of Romulus' lupine garb.

The next image of importance for our purposes is the appearance of Venus as a huntress when she intercepts Aeneas while he travels through the Tyrian forests.<sup>24</sup> It has been frequently remarked by critics that she foreshadows Dido, who is likened to Diana at 1. 498, and she serves to

<sup>20</sup> Like them, she is also described as *saeva*, as Putnam (above, note 4) 413 points out.

<sup>21</sup> The frequency with which the wolf appears in Roman proverbs and expressions indicates that the Romans were familiar with this animal's intelligence and its capacity as a predator.

<sup>22</sup> For example *fremitus* (11. 607) of horses, *fremo* (9. 607) of a wolf, (11. 599) of horses. Furor is perhaps not the first monster. Putnam (above, note 18) 11 describes Aeolus' winds as "part beast, part brutish man." They also *fremunt* (1. 56).

<sup>23</sup> Conington *ad loc.*

<sup>24</sup> This foreshadows the next, more fateful, excursion into the woods in Book 4.

introduce the conventional literary theme of love as a hunt.<sup>25</sup> The device also connects the erotic with one who is not only the mistress of the hunt but goddess of all wild creatures, prey and predator both. In other words, her concerns embrace the desire of the hunter and the agony and fear of the victim.

As if to underline this point Venus refers to an imaginary companion whom she describes as girt with a lynx's skin (321–24). Thus the hide of a predatory cat adorns another predator; hunter and hunted are equated. The equation is psychologically appropriate, for when a hunter hunts he is driven by desire for what he seeks as his victim is driven by him. In some sense his prey pursues him. The same is true of lover and beloved.<sup>26</sup>

Soon after seeing his mother Aeneas comes upon the temple of Juno decorated with scenes from the Trojan War, among which is the Amazon Penthesilea engaged in battle: *Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet* (491). Since Dido as Diana appears immediately afterwards we must perforce connect them both with the ardent Amazon, especially in view of Dido's unfeminine boldness in founding a city.<sup>27</sup> We have an interesting conflux centering on the queen: love, war and hunting in the figure of a goddess (Dido–Diana) with power over wild creatures. It is the same combination that exists in Circe, erotic mistress of predatory beasts and breeder of war horses. The forces of transformation she comes to symbolize in Book 7 are already at work in Book 1.

The link between the activity of predatory beasts and human behavior suggested in Book 1 becomes explicit in Book 2:

<sup>25</sup> See particularly B. Otis, *Vergil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1963) 235, W. R. Nethercut (above, note 3) 131. F. L. Newton, "Recurrent Imagery in *Aeneid* IV," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 31–43, discusses traditional love-motifs in Book 4.

<sup>26</sup> The eagerness of the hunter, human or animal, often sharpened by hunger or lust for glory, is a frequent detail in Vergil's hunting similes. See, for example, 4. 157–60; 5. 252–54; 7. 479–81, 496–97; 11. 339–41. The motif of lover as hunter or victim is an established image in love poetry by the Hellenistic age and is found in the *sermo amoris*. J. R. Dunkle, "The Hunter and Hunting in the *Aeneid*," *Ramus* 11 (1973) 143 n. 5, connects the identification with the depiction of Eros as archer. He cites Callimachus *Epigr.* 31; Horace *Sat.* 1. 2. 105–09; Ovid *Amor.* 2. 9. 9, 19. 36. Also see Horace *Odes* 1. 23. For lover as victim of the hunt see Tibullus 1. 6. 3–4. One of the most felicitous expressions of this enduring erotic conceit is Shakespeare's adroit use of the Actaeon myth:

O, when mine eyes did see Olivia first  
Me thought she purg'd the air of pestilence!  
That instant was I turned into a hart;  
And my desires, like fell and cruel hounds,  
E'er since pursue me.

(*Twelfth Night* I. i)

<sup>27</sup> K. Stanley, "Irony and Foreshadowing in *Aeneid* I. 462," *AJP* 86 (1965) 27, makes this association between Dido and Penthesilea. See G. S. Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Harmondsworth 1974) 62 for a discussion of Artemis and Aphrodite and their links.

sic animis iuvenum furor<sup>28</sup> additus. inde, lupi ceu  
 raptores atra in nebula, quos improba ventris  
 exegit caecos rabies catulique relict  
 faucibus expectant siccis . . .

(355-58)

Driven by fury and despair (*una salus victis nullam sperare salutem* [354]) the Trojans sally forth transformed by simile into feral, predatory beasts. The image suggests a connection between these warriors and Romulus, especially since the wolves here and Romulus' wolf are parents. The phrase *improba rabies*<sup>29</sup> *ventris* and the word *caecos* have echoes in Book 2 and Book 4 which relate the simile to the themes of love and war. At 2. 335 we hear of the guards at the Trojan gates resisting *caeco Marte* and at 4. 2 the fire of love that wastes Dido is described as *caecus ignis*. *Caecus* is usually construed passively, "unseen" or "hidden" fire, but the passion of love also afflicts blindly, without regard for her suffering.<sup>30</sup> Later Vergil asks: *improbe Amor quid non mortalia pectora cogis!* (4. 412).<sup>31</sup> The frenzy of the hunting animal, the passion of love and the emotions of the warrior, the poet seems to say, are the same—immoderate and indiscriminate.

Book 2 ends with Aeneas covering his shoulders with a lionskin before leaving Troy. The action foreshadows his identification with Hercules and his role as the slayer of Mezentius and Turnus both of whom appear as lions (10. 454, 727, 9. 792).<sup>32</sup> It also suggests that he is man and beast, prey and predator at the same time. The image adumbrates his role in Book IV, as we shall see.

Book 3 is filled with half-human monsters such as the Harpies (214-17), with their maiden faces and birds' bodies, and Scylla (424-28), woman above and multi-form monster below.<sup>33</sup> These creatures, successors of Furor,<sup>34</sup> are images of want and violence swollen to super-human

<sup>28</sup> Note that the *furor* of the Trojan warriors causes them to act like wolves driven by the *rabies* of hunger. The passion of battle with its rage and despair and the madness of the hunting animal are equated and both are linked to *furor impius* in Book 1.

<sup>29</sup> The word *rabies* is used of war (*rabies belli*) in 8. 327. Also see note 74 below.

<sup>30</sup> See A. S. Pease, *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Cambridge, MA 1935) *ad loc.* and R. G. Austin, *Publi Vergili Maronis Liber Quartus* (Oxford 1955) *ad loc.*

<sup>31</sup> Page in his note on 2. 356 writes of *improbis*: "... it expresses an absence of all moderation, of all regard for consequences or for the rights of others." For a fuller discussion along the same lines see Austin *ad loc.*, who says: "The basic sense of this adjective is persistent lack of regard for others in going beyond the bounds of what is fair and right." *Improbis*, as he points out, is used of savage beasts in the *Aeneid*. It is also used of Aeneas by his foes (4. 386, 11. 512, 12. 261). In their comments both Page and Austin relate 4. 412 to 2. 356.

<sup>32</sup> G. K. Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* VIII," *AJP* 87 (1966) 26 n. 20 and Nethercut (above, note 3) 126 n. 17, 128.

<sup>33</sup> *Utero luporum* (428) and *caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa* (432) give her canine features. She is distinctly predatory and lives in a cave (424).

<sup>34</sup> It is possible to consider the Trojan horse one of these monsters since it is called a *monstrum* (2. 245) as Putnam (above, note 18) 131 points out. Its cargo of warriors gives it a human element, and, although it is not living, the language describing it suggests an animate



proportions. They represent the dangers that threaten Aeneas and his followers in the course of their wanderings, and they reinforce the idea that combinations of man and beast are terrifyingly destructive forces.

Several animals of significance appear in this book, each symbolizing the Roman future: the white sow of Alba in Helenus' prophecy and the four white horses on Italy's shore glimpsed by Anchises. The peaceful, nursing sow and the horses that portend war seem disparate symbols, but the disparity is deceiving. Their color and their role as visions of what is to come link them on a superficial level. A suckling animal mother associated with Rome evokes the Martian wolf and in turn the marauders of Book 2, who have left behind hungry cubs. We later hear of Circe's fierce swine and the cornered boar that is the warrior Mezentius in Book 10 (707 f.). Conversely horses, as Anchises acknowledges (3. 541), can pull wagons and ploughs for the peaceful uses of agriculture. No matter how serene their immediate demeanor, such animals as symbols imply a latent violence and possible loss of control overtly signified by the Harpies or Scylla.

Where Book 3 uses externalized symbols of violence affecting men from outside and only suggests the reverse, Book 4 charts the opposite process. The animal within affects the wider world without.

Dido with her wound of love is transformed into a hunted beast (4. 68–74),<sup>35</sup> when in reality she is the seeker after Aeneas' love and he is her victim. The appearance of both Dido and Aeneas as hunters (136–50) and the similes likening them to Apollo and Artemis (1. 494–508, 4. 141–45) make the ambiguity manifest. Both are equally hunters and prey at the same time. Ascanius' prayer for game fiercer than goats and deer causes us to remember Aeneas in his tawny lionskin at the end of Book 1:

spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis  
optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem. (4. 158–59)<sup>36</sup>

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being. It groans (*gemitus dedere* 2. 53), it climbs (*scandit . . . muros* 237), it is pregnant (*feta armis* 238) and it glides (*inlabitur* 240) and jumps (*cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua venit* 6. 515). The Cyclops too, although not literally half-beast, qualifies because of his animal characteristics. He is much like a wolf or lion. He lives in a cave (3. 617), eats raw, warm, quivering flesh which he crunches up bones and all (625–27), and he gnashes his teeth when he is angry (664). Even more interesting is his effect on Achaemenides. Fear of the Cyclops transforms the Greek into a quasi-animal who lives in the woods and eats roots and berries (646–50) like a wild pig or bear.

<sup>35</sup> See R. A. Hornsby, *Patterns of Action in the Aeneid: An Interpretation of Vergil's Epic Similes* (Iowa City 1970) 92. The hunting images and their significance have been frequently investigated. See Pöschl (above, note 2) 71–76, Nethercut (above, note 3) 123, 131–32, O. G. Davis, "The Motif of the Hunt in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *Landmarks in Western Culture: Commentaries and Controversies* (Englewood Cliffs 1968) 204–14, Dunkle (above, note 26) and T. Crane, "Hunter and Hunted in *Aeneid* 7–12," *CB* 50 (1973–74) 21–25.

<sup>36</sup> Nethercut (above, note 3) 134 thinks these animals are chosen to foreshadow the Latin chiefs in the last books.

The culmination of this mutual venery occurs in a manner consistent with its beginnings. Deep within the woods, amid the primitive sights and sounds of a thunderstorm, while *summo ulularunt vertice nymphae* (168), Dido and Aeneas mate inside a cave.<sup>37</sup> The whole scene suggests a Circean metamorphosis.

The queen later laments:

non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam  
degere more ferae, talis nec tangere curas. (550-51)

There is a terrible irony in these lines for she has indeed acted *more ferae*.<sup>38</sup>

The personal destructiveness of Dido's and Aeneas' union is intimated by animal allusions; its wider, social destructiveness by the monstrous figure of Fama.<sup>39</sup> As a semi-human she recalls the figures of Book 3,<sup>40</sup> while verbal echoes in her description also connect her to the queen. Dido's attacks of passionate frenzy are described as maddened wandering: *totaque vagatur furens* (68), *fuga silvas saltusque peragrat* (as the doe, 72) and *totamque incensa per urbem bacchatur* (as a Thyiad, 300).

Fama spreads the news of Dido's death:

... concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.  
lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu  
tectis fremunt . . . (666-68)

The last two lines recall not only the sounds accompanying the lovers' initial union but also the queen's prayer to the infernal Diana for vengeance: *nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes* (609). We shall hear those echoes again in the noises made by Circe's bestial menage.

Dido shares another characteristic with Fama—sleeplessness:

... neque umquam  
solvitur in somnos oculisve aut pectore noctem  
accipit. (530-31)

The monster *nocte volat . . . per umbram / . . . nec dulci declinat lumina somno* (184-85). The hungry wolves, too, go out *atra in nebula* (2. 356) and later Circe is heard spinning and singing in the night while her imprisoned animals make their uproar through the dark hours.

<sup>37</sup> Caves, like woods, are the lairs of wild animals and the homes of monsters such as the Cyclops, Scylla and Cacus.

<sup>38</sup> The exact meaning of these lines is a subject of long debate (see Pease, Austin and Williams *ad loc.* for thorough discussions of the problems). Whether by *more ferae* Dido means "innocently as an animal" or "promiscuously as an animal" makes no difference to my point. See also Newton (above, note 25) 38 n. 12, and K. Quinn, *Vergil's Aeneid: A Critical Description* (Ann Arbor 1968) 337.

<sup>39</sup> See Pöschl (above, note 2) 82 and especially Otis (above, note 25) 81-83.

<sup>40</sup> Her avian characteristics (180-81, 184) evoke the Harpies and she too is called a *monstrum* (181); yet she is a *dea* (195), sister to a giant and a Titan (179), and capable of speech (183, 195).

Aeneas' bestiality becomes more pronounced as Book 4 progresses for we see him through the eyes of the disillusioned queen. She calls him *improbis* (386) and accuses him of being suckled by a tigress (367), thus recalling in the same speech *improbis amor*, the wolves driven by *improbis rabies* and the Roman wolf bitch who nurtures human cubs.

The essential identity of pursuer and pursued emerges again in Vergil's description of Dido's increasing torment: *agit ipse furem / in somnis ferus Aeneas* (465-66). He is the savage and relentless predator and she, though hounded, is still *furens*.<sup>41</sup> She threatens to follow Aeneas as a Fury (384),<sup>42</sup> yet later she sees herself as afflicted by Furies,<sup>43</sup> like Pentheus or Orestes.

Although any allusion to human beings as animals suggests the monstrous, Aeneas is not explicitly associated with this dimension in the same way as Dido through her similarities to Fama. He is not so adversely affected by his passion as she, and the social consequences for his followers are not tragic, as they are for the Tyrians. What the images and allusions vividly illuminate is the dehumanizing effects of uncontrolled passion which inflicts mutual pain on individuals and turmoil on society at large. Yet these emotions arise as spontaneously in the human heart as in the breast of any animal.

The images with which we are concerned appear sporadically and less coherently in Book 5 and Book 6, remaining as shadowy hints of the future or fleeting glimpses of the past.

On his return to Drepanum Aeneas is greeted by Acestes in a scene whose details have reverberations in Book 8. Acestes, as one of Trojan descent, has ties to Aeneas as does Evander through Aeneas' father, and the meeting between Aeneas and the two kings occurs in each instance during rites commemorating a hero. Both kingdoms are rustic and simple: Acestes' followers are *adsueti silvis* (5. 301), while the people of Evander's realm are called *agrestes* (8. 349).

Acestes first appears dressed in a bearskin and carrying javelins, an appropriate garb<sup>44</sup> for a sylvan warrior king and for his latent violence. Images of the overtly monstrous to match the individual propensity for it suggested by Acestes' costume are found in the boat race. Two of the

<sup>41</sup> Homsby (above, note 35) 95: "She dreams of herself as hunted by a wild beast who drives her mad . . . and she who once appeared as the hunter now sees herself as the hunted, and the creature she would hunt has become the beast which hunts her. She has transferred to Aeneas the attitude she herself had toward him." See also Davis (above, note 35) 211.

<sup>42</sup> Davis (above, note 35) 208 notes the common perception of the Furies as dog-like hunters.

<sup>43</sup> G. S. Duclos, "Nemora Inter Cresia," *CJ* 66 (1971) 195, writes: ". . . Dido changes from subject to object: the hunter becomes the hunted, whether Diana and doe, or Bacchante and Pentheus."

<sup>44</sup> Evander appears cloaked in skins too (8. 460). G. K. Galinsky, "Aeneid V and the Aeneid," *AJP* 89 (1968) 167, notes that Evander is Acestes' counterpart in Book 8.

vessels in this race are called *Scylla* and *Centaur*,<sup>45</sup> and the winner of this contest of momentary passions and harmless violence receives a cloak embroidered with a striking motif—the rape of Ganymede:

intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida  
 velocis iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat  
 acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes ab Ida  
 sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis. (252–55)

The picture is paradigmatic for the movements of the chase. The young deer hunter, keen and panting (like a dog?), is snatched up in turn by another predator, emissary of Jove's amorous passion.

In addition, competitive sporting events themselves such as the ship contest are mock battles or mock hunting.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, the prize awarded to Salius, displaced winner of the foot race, is an animal skin (*tergum Gaetuli immane leonis* 351), the customary trophy of the hunt.

For this reason some of the symbolism of the *lusus Troiae* can be seen in the light of the motifs under discussion. The exercise itself seems to represent, in its youthful participants, hope for the future, and to embody the harmonious, disciplined orderliness of an idealized Roman life, with its strong familial ties.<sup>47</sup> The intricacy of the boys' maneuvering is likened to the Cretan labyrinth and their flights and conflicts to dolphins at play. Nonetheless this is a game designed to exhibit the skills of the mounted warrior. The labyrinth brings to mind the half-human Minotaur, the destructive product of wrongful passion, lurking at its centre and the dolphins evoke less benign sea-dwellers like *Scylla* in the same way that the she-wolf and the white sow recall their more ferocious counterparts. An image of peace and hope dissolves into its opposite just as hunter turns into victim on Cloanthus' victory cloak.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Another pair are *Chimera* and *Pristis*, creatures lacking in human characteristics, but multiform beings relating to the beasts and monsters so far encountered. *Pristis* is a sea-monster like *Scylla* and the *Chimera* is partly lion-like. See Putnam (above, note 4) 411 n. 2. S. Small, "The Arms of Tumnus: *Aeneid* 7. 783–92," *TAPA* 90 (1959) 248, has a discussion of the meaning of the *Chimera*'s multiform nature.

<sup>46</sup> See Putnam (above, note 18) 88, for comments and a reference on this point.

<sup>47</sup> See L. H. Feldman, "The Character of Ascanius in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *CJ* 48 (1953) 306–07. Putnam (above, note 18) 85–88 and Homsby (above, note 35) 53 have interesting analyses of the *lusus Troiae*. Both note the darker aspects in the scene's allusions. Galinsky (above, note 44) 166 thinks that Ascanius' ride recalls his ride in Book 4 because of his Sidonian mount (5. 571).

<sup>48</sup> Book 5 also picks up the theme of fear as the cause of bestial transformation seen in the Achaemenides episode in Book 3. The Trojan matrons, fearing the consequence of their ship-burning, slip away like animals into the woods (676–78). This theme sounds its last note in Book 11 (809–13) when, after slaying Camilla, Arruns flees to the woods as a wolf who has killed a man or a steer flees to the mountain forests.

One of the first signs that greet Aeneas' eyes on reaching Italy in Book 6 (besides the forest on the shore)<sup>49</sup> is the temple of Apollo at Cumae with its reliefs illustrating the legends of Crete, among which is the story of the Minotaur. Here too, in the promised land, Aeneas will not be free of monsters.

Critics have seen in this episode an allusion to the forbidden love of Dido and Aeneas.<sup>50</sup> On a certain level the implied analogy is apt. Pasiphae's surrender to animal passion brought forth the Minotaur; the result of their union was the half-human monster Fama. The relief becomes more than a reference to Dido if we remember that Pasiphae was, like Circe, a daughter of Helios and that she managed to attract the attention of her beloved bull by dressing up like a heifer with the aid of Daedalus' craft.<sup>51</sup> In Book 7 we learn that the device on Turnus' shield is Io transformed. Both she and Pasiphae were outwardly turned into animals through love; Dido was transformed metaphorically in the woodland cave. The temple doors thus serve to unite Book 4 to the center of the work and to prefigure both Circe and Turnus through the motif of animal metamorphosis as a symbol for irrational passion.

Half-human and multiform monsters appear in abundance in the underworld. Since Aeneas' subterranean journey traverses his chaotic and unhappy past and ends in a vision of the future, the presence of those creatures comes as no surprise. He has already encountered some of them directly, such as Scylla and the Harpies, or indirectly in the names of his ships in Book 5. He will meet some of these same beings and others like them in human form amongst the Italian warriors and even in himself.<sup>52</sup>

After these generalized and highly symbolic representations of human misery Aeneas confronts the specific and personal manifestations of passion and despair in his own life. In this part of Hell Dido appears to him in a manner singularly appropriate to Aeneas' experience of her above ground. Her wound and the words used to describe her (*errabat silva in magna* [451]), evoke the injured doe and the sight of her as *per nubila lunam* (454) reminds

<sup>49</sup> There are frequent references to woods and forests in Book 6 (7-8, 131, 179, 186 are some examples). They seem to suggest that in Italy more than elsewhere lies the landscape of transformation. The decided increase in animal imagery in the last books seems to bear this out.

<sup>50</sup> Otis (above, note 25) 284-85; Homsby (above, note 35) 53.

<sup>51</sup> In a different connection Putnam (above, note 4) 414 points out that Circe is called *daedala* (7. 282).

<sup>52</sup> For example, Turnus with the Chimera on his crest (7. 785), Catillus and Coras as Centaurs (7. 672-75) and Briareus in himself (10. 785). Putnam (above, note 4) 410-11 makes this point and remarks on the psychological implications. He notes as "curious" (411 n. 2) that the Trojan ships in Book 5 have the names of Hell's monsters. The symbolic nature of monsters is made apparent in the scene at the threshold of Hell (6. 268 ff.). Aeneas is frightened by the monsters but seemingly not by *malesuada Fames, turpis Egestas* and their kin. This is perhaps because the Harpies, for instance, are more convincing projections of these vague allegorical entities. The Centaurs and Briareus could well represent the violence of *Discordia demens* or *mortiferum Bellum*.

us of her role as Diana, goddess of the hunt (I. 499).<sup>53</sup> She dwells in a myrtle grove with, among others, the shades of Pasiphae, who made herself into an animal for bestial love, and of Procris, killed through her passion for her husband and through his love of hunting. She appears as hunter and prey simultaneously. In the end this mute, wild creature, transfixed by desire, retreats into the woods (*nemus umbiferum* 473) to remain there forever.<sup>54</sup>

The book's closing preview of the Roman future needs no animal embellishment to convey its message of disappointed hopes and human suffering, yet even in a more triumphant part of the vision we have a brief reminder of this brutish aspect of man's nature and of his achievements.<sup>55</sup> In describing future Augustan conquests Anchises compares their extent to the extent of Hercules' wanderings (801–04). The allusion is part of the Hercules–Aeneas–Augustus associations found throughout the epic,<sup>56</sup> but what is important for our purposes is that Hercules, symbol of Rome, is presented as a deerslayer (a familiar role for Aeneas), boar-hunter and monster-stalker.<sup>57</sup> The equation of predator with prey established in earlier books alerts us to this possibility for Hercules. The suggestion is finally made explicit in Book 8.

The flavor of wild places and animal life fills Book 7. It begins with woods and groves as does Book 6, calling attention once more to Italy's sylvan character. Aeneas avoids Circe's *inaccessos lucos* (11) and lands at the mouth of the Tiber with its *ingentem lucum* (29), thus eschewing one haunt of wild creatures to enter another filled with the song of birds instead of the howls of four-legged brutes.<sup>58</sup> Yet Picus, we soon learn, was turned into a bird through Circe's art (189–91).

Critics have long noted the natural, primitive robustness of the Italians in the epic.<sup>59</sup> One of the founding fathers of the Latin people is the deified king *silvicola Faunus* (10. 551), son of the avian Picus and Circe, a figure

<sup>53</sup> Nethercut (above, note 3) 132 n. 29 makes these points and refers to Pöschl's comments. Also see G. S. Duclos, "Dido as 'Triformis' Diana," *Vergilius* 15 (1969) 33–41 and M. O. Lee, *Fathers and Sons in Virgil's Aeneid* (Albany 1979) 188 n. 9.

<sup>54</sup> Of the scene immediately following this, as Aeneas passes Tartarus, Putnam (above, note 4) 413 remarks that the line describing the sounds issuing from that place (*hinc exaudiri gemitus, et saeva sonare / verbera* [557–58]) is reminiscent of the lines about the sounds from Circe's grove.

<sup>55</sup> Aeneas' last child, however, is named Silvius, *quem . . . Lavinia coniunx / educet silvis* (764–65).

<sup>56</sup> Otis (above, note 25) 302, Galinsky (above, note 32) 18–51, Nethercut (above, note 3) 127–29, 134.

<sup>57</sup> Nethercut (above, note 3) 134 notes that Hercules and Aeneas are both hunters. Also see Dunkle (above, note 26) 139 for a positive view of Hercules here.

<sup>58</sup> Putnam (above, note 4) 416–17 sees a contrast here between the night-time groves of Circe and the Tiber's bird song, but notes its deceptiveness. See W. Görler, "Aeneas' Ankunft in Latium: Beobachtungen zu Vergils epischer Technik," *WJA N. F.* 2 (1976) 165–79.

<sup>59</sup> For example, A. Parry, "The Two Voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Arion* 2. 4 (1963) 67–68, Otis (above, note 25) 329, Putnam (above, note 4) 410.

identified with the half-animal Pan by Vergil's time.<sup>60</sup> His son, Latinus, is thus directly related to Circe (12. 162–64). The catalogue of Italian warriors confirms that the other Italian tribes are equally ferine, for so many of the combatants are animal-like, bear animal insignia, were brought up in the woods or are noted hunters. Turnus with Io on his shield and a chimera on his crest, Camilla the huntress, dressed in skins as a babe and raised in the forest, and Aventinus, son of Hercules (655–69) are the more obvious examples.<sup>61</sup>

Juno, through Allecto, rouses the slumbering beasts of Italy. The first to be affected are real animals as Allecto infects Ascanius' hounds with *subita rabies* (479) and they become *rabidae canes* (493–94), reminding us of the wolves driven by *improbis rabies* in Book 2 (357). Allecto herself is a monster like Fama,<sup>62</sup> who appears when men behave like animals. She is human with snake-like features, yet she is like a bird<sup>63</sup> and like Fama too (*luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti* (4. 186) when she seeks the rooftops:

ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo  
pastorale canit signum . . . (512–13)

or like a wild beast when she haunts the woods: *pestis enim tacitis latet aspera silvis* (505).

Under her influence Amata becomes a maenad, a role remarkably suited to our bestial motif.<sup>64</sup> To be under the sway of Dionysus is to be controlled and transformed by irrational forces, and the traditional aspects of Bacchic behavior such as dressing in skins and taking to wild places signals the transition. Amata flies off to the woods:

<sup>60</sup> See Horace *Carmina* 1. 17. There is some evidence also that he was connected to the Martian wolf (*RE*, s.v. "Faunos").

<sup>61</sup> So also are Lausus, *equum domitor, debellatorque ferarum* (651), Catullus and Coras, who are like Centaurs (674), the followers of Caeculus, who have wolfskin caps (688) and the followers of Messapus, who are like raucous swans (699). The Italian warriors on Aeneas' side (10. 166 ff.) have fewer overt animal associations: Massicus' ship is called Tiger (166), Aulestes' is Triton, whose figure-head is described as *semiferus* (212) and Cupavo's is the Centaur (195). Cupavo himself has a father Cynus, who changed into a swan from grief at Phaethon's death (189 ff.). Cupavo wears a crest of swan feathers.

<sup>62</sup> Pöschl (above, note 2) 82 has pointed out the analogy. Putnam (above, note 4) 416 links her with Circe.

<sup>63</sup> Particularly birds of ill-omen on rooftops, see 4. 462, 12. 836–64. The owl in the last simile is the transformed Dira, who heralds Turnus' doom. She also sings at night (*nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras* [864]) like Circe and her brutes.

<sup>64</sup> Pöschl (above, note 2) 30 discusses Bacchic imagery and its relation to the irrational in the epic. Hornsby (above, note 35) 130 links Amata and Dido through their Bacchic qualities. The queen's deliberate affectation of Bacchic behavior does not mean that she is rational, as the long description of Allecto's assault upon her in Book 8 (341–58) and the top simile (373–90) indicate. It merely cloaks her madness in legitimate religious garb.

quin etiam in silvas simulato numine Bacchi  
 maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem  
 evolvat et natam frondosis montibus abdit. (385-87)

Though the source of madness is not Dioynisian, the effect is the same. Allecto drives her with Bacchic goad amid the forests:

talem inter silvas, inter deserta ferarum  
 reginam . . . (404-05)

The queen roars the name Bacchus (*fremens* 389), the same word used of *furor impius* and for the noise of excited animals.<sup>65</sup> Her followers' cries are *ululatus* (395), like the howls of Circe's wolves.

Aeneas' symbolic link to the figure of Hercules is confirmed through his visit to Arcadia and the future site of Rome in Book 8. Part of the web of associations between the two figures is Aeneas' contact with the Herculean emblem of the lionskin (177, 552-53).<sup>66</sup> The assumption of an animal's skin, however, is at best an ambiguous symbol, and the Hercules-Cacus episode underscores this basic ambiguity.

Cacus is another of the half-human monsters who embody the exaggerated passions governing the behavior of men and whose influence results in social disorder. He is called *semihomo* (194) as well as *semiferus* (267), different aspects of the same condition, and his chest is hairy with bristles (266), reminding us of Circe's *saetigeri sues* and shaggy Io on Turnus' shield.<sup>67</sup>

Cacus' slayer, who is thanked yearly with religious rites for his service to the Arcadians in ridding them of this menace, undergoes a transformation while pursuing his foe. When he finds his cattle gone, he is the picture of bestial wrath:<sup>68</sup> *hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro / felle dolor* (219-20). Cacus, too, experiences a dark, fiery rage: *atros / ore vomens ignis* (198-99). Hercules rushes to enter Cacus' dwelling:

omnemque  
 accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc,  
 dentibus infrendens. ter totum fervidus ira  
 lustrat Aventini montem . . . (228-31)

His behavior is soon to be echoed in the preamble to the description of Turnus as a wolf prowling around a sheepfold in Book 9:

<sup>65</sup> See above, note 23.

<sup>66</sup> Nethercut (above, note 3) 128 (especially n. 22), Galinsky (above, note 32) 26. Nethercut 129 says, however, that though both Aeneas and Hercules wear the lionskin, neither is likened to lions.

<sup>67</sup> Galinsky (above, note 32) 39-40 discusses the notion of an identification of Cacus with Turnus and cites Pöschl. He also notes a resemblance between Cacus' cave and the Underworld (p. 38). See also Small (above, note 45) 248.

<sup>68</sup> Galinsky (above, note 32) 41 discusses Hercules' wrath and its similarities to Aeneas' moments of anger.



huc turbidus atque huc  
lustrat equo muros aditumque per avia quaerit.  
ac veluti pleno lupus insidiatus ovili . . .

(9. 57–59)

This frustrated predator is enraged too: *asper et improbus ira / saevit* (9. 62–63). Hercules is not only wolf-like, he gnashes his teeth like an animal.<sup>69</sup> To be equated to him says that one is a monster-slaying hero and a dangerous beast at the same time.<sup>70</sup>

The final scene of Book 8 describes the reliefs on Aeneas' shield, which are meant to illustrate *res Italas Romanorumque triumphos* (626). The images of monstrous violence we have come to expect are conveyed in the warring Egyptian gods (*deum monstra et latrator Anubis* [698]) and are thereby attached to Rome's enemies, whom she subdues as Hercules subdued Cacus.<sup>71</sup> But even as the Hercules–Cacus image turns in upon itself and does not quite mean what it appears to, the shield tells us of more than Roman triumphs. Its first picture is a tableau of maternal tenderness, whose main actor, the Martian wolf-bitch, is a creature both comely and loving:

illam tereti cervice reflexa  
mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua.

(633–34)<sup>72</sup>

This maternal vision has been foreshadowed by Aeneas' encounter with the Alban sow on his journey up the Tiber (83–84). These animals' grimmer relatives, the savage wolves of Book 2 and the fearsome beasts belonging to Circe, have already warned us of the dual natures of predators and prey. The metaphorically transformed warriors of the succeeding books confirm this duality.

Images of animals, especially predatory animals and their victims, occur frequently in the books narrating the war with the Latins (9–12). Hunting is as appropriate a symbol for the emotional state of the soldier as for that of the lover: the pursuing warrior's passionate rage is no less than the lover's passionate desire. It is also apposite in depicting the actual fortunes of war. He who chases his enemy is destined in turn to flee from him.<sup>73</sup> The constant role-reversal which underscores the essential identity of

<sup>69</sup> Galinsky (above, note 32) 31 n. 32 sees a resemblance between Cacus and the Homeric Polyphemus. Putnam (above, note 4) 131 sees similarities between Cacus and Furor with allusions to the Cyclops and the Trojan Horse.

<sup>70</sup> Kirk (above, note 27) 206–09 discusses Heracles' ambiguous nature. Also see Nethercut (above, note 3) 134.

<sup>71</sup> The references cited for the Hercules and Cacus episode in notes 68–70 above discuss Aeneas' symbolic role as monster-slayer.

<sup>72</sup> Putnam (above, note 18) 148–49 sees the wolf's ambiguity.

<sup>73</sup> Putnam (above, note 35) 419: "as man tracks man, one predator after another." Putnam, however, sees a change in the nature of the hunting in the earlier parts of the epic. On changes in hunting images see Crane (above, note 35). Both the Greeks and the Romans saw the affinity between hunting and war on a more practical level than literary conceit: the manly sport strengthened moral fibre and was good physical training for war. See J. K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1985), especially chapters 2 and 5.

pursuer and victim is a common theme in the similes of bestial transformation from these books, and they echo the related images from earlier books as well as resonate with each other.

A good example is the simile comparing Turnus to a wolf at a sheepfold (9. 59 ff.). We have already noted that the introductory lines of the passage recall Hercules. *Fremit* (60), however, evokes *furor impius* and Amata in the woods (7. 389). *Improbis* (62), *ira* (62), *rabies*<sup>74</sup> and *siccae fauces* (64) call to mind the ravening wolves of Book 2 and *saevit* (63), in the context of predatory animals, invites comparison with Circe's unhappy beasts. The wolf's tormented hunger (*collecta fatigat edendi / ex longo rabies et siccae sanguine fauces* (63–64) renders him as much a helpless victim of terrible need as the sheep are his victims.

The Nisus–Euryalus episode functions in a similar, though more complex, way. Before their ill-fated excursion the pair are referred to as hunters: Nisus was sent with Aeneas by *Ida venatrix* (9. 177) and both men have become familiar with the Italian countryside in the course of their hunting (244–45).<sup>75</sup> At their departure the coming events are symbolically foreshadowed by Mnesteus' gift to Nisus of a lionskin (306–07). The hunting trophy suggests both the young man's violent, predatory nature and his eventual role as victim. Later while indulging in an orgy of slaughter he is likened to an unfed lion:

impastus ceu plena leo per ovilia turbans  
(suadet enim vesana fames) manditque trahitque  
molle pecus mutumque metu, fremit ore cruento. (339–41)

The language and setting recall the hungry wolves; *impastus* and *vesana fames*, in particular, those of Book 2. *Fremit ore cruento* evokes not just Turnus but *furor* as well. The two men work in the night (*noctisque per umbram* 314) like Fama (*nocte volet . . . per umbram* 4. 184) and the Trojan wolves.<sup>76</sup> The ground running with blood after their deadly work (. . . *sanguine singultantem; atro tepefacta cruore* . . . 9. 333, . . . *tepidaque recentem / caede locum et plenos spumanti sanguine rivos* 455–56) is reminiscent of Cacus' dwelling (*semperque recenti / caede tepebat humus* 8. 195–96).<sup>77</sup>

When at last the murderous pair are discovered, they flee to the woods (378), and the enemy hunts them through the forest like wild beasts (380

<sup>74</sup> *Rabies* and related words are also used of Allecto's face (*rabido ore* [7. 451]), Cerberus' hunger (*fame rabida* [6. 421]), Scylla (*Scyllaeam rabiem* [1. 200]) and war (*rabies belli* [8. 327]). See above, note 30.

<sup>75</sup> Perhaps we are meant to think of that first pair of hunters in Book 4, who come to grief in the woods through their lack of self-restraint.

<sup>76</sup> Compare the night-time activities of Circe and Dido. The Sibyl and Aeneas journey through the night too: *ibant . . . sub nocte per umbram* (6. 268).

<sup>77</sup> In lines 340–41 of the lion simile there are echoes too of the Cyclops' behavior when we remember Achaemenides' descriptions of his eating habits in Book 3 (626–27).

ff.). With Euryalus' capture Nisus becomes a hunter again as he prays to Diana to guide his spear by all the hunting trophies he and his father have dedicated in the past (404–08). Only death calls a halt to these continual role changes.

The same pattern of bestial transformation and role-reversal can be seen in the episode with Camilla. She has lived like a wild creature in the woods with a savage father (9. 539, 567–72), has been dedicated to Diana (11. 552–60), and has hunted from babyhood (573–75, 577–80) while dressed in skins (*tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent* 577). There is little, in fact, that is human about her.<sup>78</sup>

The first of her victims given a description of any length is Ornytus the hunter (686) who wears a wolf's head helmet and a steer's hide (679–81), thus sporting the insignia of predator and prey at the same time. The garb is prophetic for, hunter that he is, he is changed into a victim by the huntress Camilla. She in her turn succumbs to Arruns, who tracks her down in canine fashion (759–69)<sup>79</sup> and who, after killing her, is compared to a wolf slinking off to the woods in fear (809 ff.). A further intricacy is that he kills her as she, *venatrix . . . caeca* (9. 780–81), hunts down Chloereus, bird-like in his brightly colored garments and on a horse covered by a skin with feather-like bronze scales.<sup>80</sup> The epithet *caeca* allies her to the Trojan wolves, to *caecus Mars* and to the consuming fire of Dido's passion.

Mezentius as a boar driven from the mountain woods by hounds (10. 707–15) is a prey so *ferox* that he cows his attackers and blurs the distinction between pursuers and victim. The boar *infremuit* (711), evoking *furor* and Turnus as a wolf (9. 59 ff.), and a few lines later Mezentius, *dentibus infrendens* (718), calls up the violent, savage Hercules.

The second animal image involving Mezentius is equally evocative:

impastus stabula alta leo ceu saepe peragrans  
(suadet enim vesana fames), si forte fugacem  
conspexit capream aut surgentem in cornua cervum,  
gaudet hians immane comasque arrexit et haeret  
visceribus super incumbens; lavit improba taeter  
ora cruor.

(10. 723–28)

*Impastus*, *vesana fama* and *improba* recall Turnus as a hungry wolf, the wolves of Book 2 and Nisus, the other ravening lion. *Taeter cruor* covers the lion's mouth and conjures up the same visual image as *ore cruento* with its concomitant allusions.

<sup>78</sup> See S. G. P. Small, "Virgil, Dante and Camilla," *CJ* 54 (1959) 295–301.

<sup>79</sup> That is, by trailing after prey over a long distance as opposed to running it down with a swift, unexpected rush over a short distance in the manner of felines. The former pattern is significant, see pages 127 and 128 below.

<sup>80</sup> This episode is, perhaps, an echo of the earlier simile of Camilla as a falcon killing a dove when she dispatches the crafty Aunus (11. 721–24).

The suggestion that victim and slayer are in some way the same is particularly pronounced in the case of Pallas. After a successful bout of indiscriminate slaughter the young Arcadian faces the man who will reverse his triumph. To illustrate Turnus' and Pallas' relative positions Turnus is likened to a lion and Pallas to a bull, a creature no match for the feline predator. Nonetheless, this bull is not timorous prey but *meditantem in proelia taurum* (10. 455).<sup>81</sup> If the simile is entirely consistent with the circumstances giving rise to it, the bull must be practicing for his coming battle with the lion, for Turnus does not catch Pallas by surprise. In this he is ironically similar to the equally doomed bull to which Turnus himself is compared in Book 12 (103-06). Dying, the lion's victim *terram hostilem . . . petit ore cruento* (10. 489), recalling not pathetic prey but the savage lion Nisus in Book 9, as well as *furor* in Book 1. Mezentius' later turn as a lion in Book 10 retrospectively deepens the ambiguity<sup>82</sup> felt here.

Of all the figures in the *Aeneid* Turnus is the one most often compared to animals, as befits the fiercest and most violent among a fierce and violent people.<sup>83</sup> In Book 9 alone he is likened to a predatory creature five times: 59-64, the hungry wolf around the sheepfold; 563-65, an eagle and a wolf; 730, a tiger; 792-96, a lion. The wolf in 563-65 is the *lupus Martius*, a creature usually seen in connection with Rome, not with the Italians. The first wolf, as suggested earlier, evokes the Trojan wolves and thus both creatures, while referring to Turnus, also allude to his enemies.

The first four of these five similes depict a ferocious predator against helpless prey: timid lambs, a powerless hare or swan, and *pecora inertia* (730). In the last simile, however, the situation has changed. Though *saevus* and *asper* (792-94) the beset lion is *territus* (793). Like the boar Mezentius, even hard-pressed, he is more than a match for his pursuers. From this point onward images characterizing Turnus begin to reflect his increasing vulnerability<sup>84</sup> while still expressing the underlying conception that hunter and hunted are both victims. With the exception of the lion simile in Book 10 (454-56) he is hereafter either a driven animal or a creature more likely to be the object of predation.

The first intimation of this transition is the Homeric simile of Turnus as a stallion who, after breaking free, rushes off to his mares or to the river for a swim (11. 492-97).<sup>85</sup> The image is graceful and is superficially without sinister violence, but a stallion on the loose can be a formidable

<sup>81</sup> See Homsby (above, note 35) 70.

<sup>82</sup> The Punic lion in Book 12 will be discussed below, but this later echo further identifies Pallas and Turnus.

<sup>83</sup> See Putnam (above, note 18) 186.

<sup>84</sup> This is not so apparent in other similes for Turnus. See note 90 below.

<sup>85</sup> The figure comes, interestingly, after a description of Lavinia, *oculos dejecta decoros* (11. 480), suggesting the source of Turnus' wildness. The bearer of Io's insignia has been transformed by sexual passion.

animal, and we know, in any case, from Anchises' words in Book 3 (539–40) that horses can symbolize war. The language describing him reinforces the symbolism. *Emicat* (11. 496) is used twice of warriors leaping into the fray: Pandarus in 9. 736 and Turnus himself in 12. 728. *Fremo*, along with all its other connotations, is used of Turnus' own war horses: *poscit equos gaudetque tuens ante ora frementis* (12. 82).<sup>86</sup>

A similar picture of spirited bellicosity in a non-predatory animal is manifest in the simile of Turnus as a bull (12. 103–06) practicing for battle. The irony of this description in relation to the Pallas simile (10. 454–56) has already been noted. The same bitter and poignant echoes sound in the intervening image of Turnus as a wounded Punic lion (12. 4–8).<sup>87</sup> The defiant beast at bay (. . . *gaudetque comantis / excutens cervice toros* . . . 12. 6–7) reminds us of Mezentius as a cornered boar (. . . *et inhorruit armos* 10. 711) or as an exultant lion shaking his mane (*comasque arrexit* 10. 726), but *fremat ore cruento*, while evoking the boar (*infremuit* 10. 711) and the same lion (10. 728), as well as the image of Nisus as a lion, recalls the dying Pallas. Unlike Mezentius' beast, Pallas and the wounded lion taste their own blood. In the spectrum of these shifting animal images Turnus the killer is simultaneously Turnus the victim.

The bull similes in the last books culminate in the comparison of Turnus and Aeneas to two fighting bulls (12. 715–22). Both animals are hurt and their necks and shoulders stream with blood (. . . *et sanguine largo / colla armosque lavant* . . . 721–22)—a chilling and pathetic echo of the exuberant stud with his flowing mane (. . . *ludunique iubae per colla, per armos* 11. 497). The surrounding woods resound with the noise of their battle: . . . *gemitu nemus omne remugit* (12. 722).<sup>88</sup> The line reiterates the description preceding the simile: *dat gemitum tellus* (12. 713). Circe's grove is filled with similar sounds of angry beasts: . . . *hinc exaudiri gemitus iraeque leonum* (7. 15).

In the last animal simile of the epic (12. 749–55) Turnus has become prey as helpless as that which he pursued earlier in the guise of a wolf, eagle or lion. The description of this hunt with Turnus as stag and Aeneas as *venator canis* contains echoes of all such similar pursuits and flights:<sup>89</sup> the flight of Polites from Pyrrhus (2. 526–30), the *lusus Troiae* (5. 592–93), Hercules' search for Cacus (8. 228–31), Turnus around the Trojan camp (9.

<sup>86</sup> It and related words are used of horses in two instances: 9. 607 and 7. 638. *Emicat, arrectisque fremit cervicibus alte / luxurians* (11. 496–97) recalls a line describing the murderous serpents of Book 2: . . . *superant capite et cervicibus altis* (219).

<sup>87</sup> The allusion to Dido has long been noted and amply discussed, for example by Pöschl (above, note 2) 110. He also notes that *furor impius* was so described in Book 1. Putnam (above, note 18) 153–56 explores the allusions to Dido and *furor*. Also see Galinsky (above, note 44) 175.

<sup>88</sup> Galinsky (above, note 32) 35 sees in this a reference to Cacus. See also Galinsky (above, note 44) 175.

<sup>89</sup> Putnam (above, note 18) 186–88 discerns a similar pattern in some of these passages but does not examine them closely.

57–61), Nisus seeking Euryalus (9. 392–93), Arruns stalking Camilla (11. 762–67), Aeneas searching for Turnus (12. 479–84), Turnus retreating with sword broken (12. 442–45) and Aeneas' final pursuit of Turnus (12. 763–65). The common elements are protracted, repetitive activity—the fugitive trying various avenues of escape, or the tracker different points of attack. *Iam . . . iam, nunc . . . nunc*, or repeated demonstratives (e.g. *huc . . . huc, hos . . . hos*) or verbs (e.g. *fugit . . . refugit*) mark the passages. Some form of *lustrō*, *vestigo*, or *vestigia* appears in most of them as well. The language emphasizes that hunter and hunted trace reciprocal patterns of frustration and terror; their recurrent *pas de deux* is the epic's choreography for despair and death.

In the last half of the epic most of the similes involving Aeneas describe his prowess in battle and most contain references to natural phenomena: storms (10. 603, 12. 450 f.), rivers and fires (12. 521 f.), and mountains (12. 701 f.). To be likened to irresistible impersonal forces serves to emphasize his fated superiority in war, although Turnus too is compared to such things.<sup>90</sup> When Aeneas behaves monstrously, he is depicted as the fire-breathing monster Aegaeon (10. 565–68). Interestingly, the fire-breathing monsters most recently encountered were Cacus and the Chimera on Turnus' crest; the first was a victim of one whose identity Aeneas has assumed and the last is the insignia of his own victim.

The same elusive, subtle indirectness characterizes another of the hero's associations with animals and hunting. His first act in battle with the Italians is to kill a Latin warrior called Theron (10. 312), whose name surely suggests a wild beast. Soon after, Aeneas, the man who has become a second Hercules in the previous book, dispatches two brothers who are armed with the weapons of Hercules (10. 318) and whose father was the Greek hero's friend (320–21).

In Book 12 Aeneas is likened directly to animals, a bull battling another bull, and a hound after a stag.<sup>91</sup> The change in imagery charts the shifting fortunes of the combatants: at the beginning Turnus is strong and hopeful, a match for Aeneas, but with the shattering of his sword he loses ground irrevocably. As in all such images in the *Aeneid*, however, the superficial logic of the simile is only part of its meaning. The bull is by nature fierce and belligerent, but it is often the victim of sacrifice or predation, as for example the bull Pallas who dies under the attack of the lion Turnus. In the simile from Book 12 both animals are not only well-matched opponents, but equally victims of their own devouring passions.

<sup>90</sup> 12. 365 ff., 684 ff. See S. Mack, *Patterns of Time in Vergil* (Hamden, CT 1978) 88, 115 note 6.

<sup>91</sup> Both Putnam (above, note 18) 189 and Hornsby (above, note 35) 64, 75 remark that this is the first time Aeneas has been compared to animals, but this view, as my paper argues, is essentially wrong.

Though Aeneas is soon to be triumphant over his foe, the emblem of his victory, the *vividus UMBER* (10. 753) at the heels of its prey, is an image not of success, but of acute frustration frozen in time. The dog with mouth agape (*haeret hians* 754) clings to his fleeing quarry like the hunger-maddened lion Mezentius (10. 725–26), but for the hound there is no denouement. He is beset with an agony of protracted desire:

iam iamque tenet similisque tenenti  
inrepuat malis morsuque elusus inani est. (12. 754–55)

Hunter and victim are inseparably and endlessly bound by common suffering, each the cause of the other's pain.

After hesitating initially, Aeneas destroys his cornered prey because he sees Pallas' belt:

ille, oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris  
exuviasque hausit . . . (12. 945–46)

*Exuviae* are the warrior's spoils, but also the hunter's, the hide of his quarry. It is as if Turnus the predator has dressed himself in his victim's skin and thus become the very prey he hunted.

The device on Pallas's buckler, whatever else it may mean,<sup>92</sup> is a tale of revenge. The deed of the Danaids is *nefas* (10. 497–98), but they too were victims. Like their ancestor Io they suffered unwanted erotic attention. These seemingly helpless women take revenge by turning on their pursuers. The vanquished Pallas exacts his vengeance from the grave and the slaughter of his killer is no less terrible than his own death. This is perhaps the meaning of the omen seen by the Rutulians in Book 12 of swans turning upon an attacking eagle (247–56). The sight does not portend victory but embodies the circular ambiguity of a bestial hunt where hunter and hunted merge and which has become a symbol for the compulsive, destructive irrationality so immovably lodged in the human heart.<sup>93</sup>

Circe singing in the woods tells us not that men may turn into beasts but that they are beasts. She does not transform so much as reveal. Her animal costumes mirror reality; the human form is the disguise. The frightened deer, the truculent bull, the cornered boar, the ravenous wolf or lion are all victims of uncontrollable inner urges, their own or others'. The same is true of man, particularly the lover or the warrior. He cannot avoid grief in either role, any more than his animal counterparts can as, driven by instinct, they hunt or are hunted. The difference between man and beast is that animal violence is largely individual, limited and part of nature's

<sup>92</sup> The most interesting of the more recent interpretations is that the device is meant to evoke Hypermnestra, the bride who refrained from violence when moved by compassion.

<sup>93</sup> K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (Cambridge 1983) in his first chapter paints a graphic picture of the militaristic violence and bloodthirstiness of Roman society. If he is accurate in his assessment, Vergil's feelings about human nature were well substantiated in the life around him.

balance. Man's mindless violence, however, affects his social institutions, those fragile defences erected by human reason to protect man from himself. His destructiveness becomes monstrous, in fact, and thus his suffering infinitely greater than that of any animal.

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